

[xix century]

INTRODUCTION

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to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

As a result, a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. of undermining due to penetration of western influences - Analyst]

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668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

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661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

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771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

[208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

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665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

IDENTIFICATION WITH SUFFERING AND ACCEPTANCE

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with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.²

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The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors:

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Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.³

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."⁴ Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life:

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

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154 How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of
159 such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I
668 have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-
called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep
while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to
see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the court-
yard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to
appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without
a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords,
who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage
box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish
mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake
for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me.
Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should
bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father,
good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own
interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the in-
equality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how
to find justice was the question that troubled me.⁵

538 Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary
771 works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he con-
sidered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia
with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian
people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be
expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the
earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there
will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all
will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ
will come."⁶

II

593 Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation
159 alike. There were families in which harmonious relations pre-
668 vailed. There were also families in which reaction developed
not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of
the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a
vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."⁷
According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruc-
tion to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

IDENTIFICATION WITH SUFFERING AND ACCEPTANCE

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inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."⁸

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Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.⁹ To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.¹⁰

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgenev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgenev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgenev.¹¹

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An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.'"¹²

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Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

[Saint Theodosius]

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rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."¹² Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."¹⁴

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Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."¹⁵

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Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

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When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics¹⁶ as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.¹⁷ In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

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wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."¹⁸ A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

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EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

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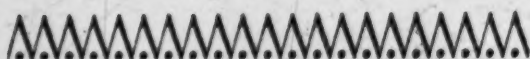
FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinoenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenje*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternately bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

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It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.¹ A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

IV

Ideologies and Movements



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REVOLT OF THE LAND-OWNING INTELLIGENTSIA (WESTERNISM AND SLAVOPHILISM)

I

IN CONSEQUENCE of the reforms of Peter the Great the dvorianstvo obtained hereditary rights on their lands. At the same time their service to the state ceased to be obligatory. But the traditions of this class consisted of warfare and ruling, not of land cultivation. Thus when this newly formed landed gentry did not have to serve the state, many of them became a leisure class of people who occupied themselves by visiting Western lands, cultivating Western languages and fine arts and studying Western political and social ideologies. Few among these people were inclined to retire to the country and dedicate themselves to the management of their estates. The result of such a trend of events was that a large part of this leisure class people Europeanized themselves and developed high educational and intellectual standards. And it was from this group of a well educated landed gentry who were losing their

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[517] former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a par-
 668 venu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition
 movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

[701] Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.¹ Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 [669] these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.² Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia³ which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

[642] The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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According to Slavophiles the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophiles said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).⁸ In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

... do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world ... Do you know which is that people and what is its name?⁹

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophiles demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophiles asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."¹⁰

The Slavophiles asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.¹¹ In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophiles

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829 claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social
 517 organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or
 668 external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the
 [621] collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanim-
 ity and organic totality that prevailed.¹² It is only by being
 completely rooted in his own community and completely identi-
 fied with his own people that man can be creative and can reach
 all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church
 and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social
 organization, instead of external and formal law and authority
 imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline,
 informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.¹³ It is only
 in such an integrated community which has been fused with the
 Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members
 is established that real freedom of the individual can be real-
 ized,¹⁴ according to Slavophilism.

517 Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in
 829 Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing
 668 pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked
 648 on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction
 of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political
 circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification
 of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Ortho-
 dox and of Slav peoples,¹⁵ the idea of defense of the Slavs
 against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of
 uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important
 role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which
 Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth
 century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only
 Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the
 anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle
 with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salu-
 tary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the vic-
 tory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.¹⁶

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a
 centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia¹⁷ and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

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REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

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At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.¹

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.² In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.³ In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .³

‡[i.e. in December, 1825 -- Analyst]

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554 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

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565 The lay schools were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

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668 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

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641 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

2 [i.e. in the second half of the XIXth century. - Analyst]

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.* And it was this underprivileged group of declassée nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The *raznochintsy* intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some *raznochintsy* practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of *raznochintsy* were employed by the *Zemstvo* as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and book-keepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the *raznochintsy* for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.⁵ Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking *raznochintsy* who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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668 Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

[538] Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly." That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

[597] Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

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[727] In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854-1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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the ground together with all its fundamental institutions. Such plans for direct action aimed at total destruction of the existing order were developed by the Anarchists ("Our task is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction").⁷

Not unlike the Slavophiles and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the existing formal law which was abused for personal gains of those in power. Just as the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the family institution whose sacredness in Russian society often veiled arbitrariness, cruelty, injustices, and humiliations imposed by the elders upon the weak and unprotected. Like the Slavophiles and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against private property, the official Church, and the state because these institutions in the Czardom joined hands in supporting the system of serfdom and bureaucratic regimentation. "The only revolution which can do any good to the people is that which destroys, from top to bottom, every ~~idea~~ of the state, overthrowing all traditions, social orders, and classes. . . ."⁸

The Anarchists demanded a return to an anarchic and equalitarian brotherhood that strongly reminds one of the Old-Slavonic world. But following the patriarchal and Czarist traditions of unconditional power and dominance, the Anarchists, just as the Nihilists, usurped for themselves the right to cheat, to steal, to lie, to destroy, and to kill, as a means to do away with "deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," of the ruling classes. Said Kropotkin:

I will be immoral to snap a weapon abused by religion; I will do it, were it only to protest against the hypocrisy imposed on us in the name of a word to which the name morality was given.⁹

"The revolutionary defines as moral only that which assists the revolution, and defines as immoral and criminal that which stands in his way," says the *Catechism of Revolution*. In the same manner, Kropotkin, speaking of the Russian terrorists who assassinated Czar Alexander II, said that "these men and women . . . had conquered the right to kill. . . . 'They have the right to steal' . . ."¹⁰

In order to be able to destroy, to cheat, and to kill the exploiters and the representatives of the government, it was neces-

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sary to know how to hate them. The Anarchists therefore undertook to find ways by which extreme hatred could best be promoted. This, they said, should be done first by arousing passionate and uncompromising love for equality and freedom and becoming ready to suffer and to sacrifice oneself for these ideas; then by instilling burning hatred and urge of destruction of those who stand in the path of these objectives. "The terrorist," said Stepniak, "is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating for he combines in himself two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero."¹¹ Such a revolutionary will "not hesitate to destroy any position, any place, or any man in this world. He must hate everyone and everything with an equal hatred."¹²

Ambivalence of hatred and love and justification of violence for the sake of salvation of others had their roots in the family and were reinforced by conditions in the society at large. Identification with suffering, guilt feelings, desire for martyrdom and self destruction had the same roots and reinforcements. On the ideological level of Anarchism these feelings and attitudes were formulated into principles of thought and action:

... we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate, for only those who know how to hate know how to love . . . We only ask one thing, e.c. to eliminate all that impedes the free development of those two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgment: the state, the church, exploitation; judges, priests, government, exploiters . . .¹³

But since the primary sources of this ideology and conduct were feelings of rejection, hate and killing took the upper hand over love. Accordingly the Anarchists demanded severance of the relations with the rest of the society and complete dedication to destruction. "The revolutionary has broken all ties with society." He "should have no . . . attachments, no property and no name. All these must be wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution."¹⁴

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Detachment from the rest of the society promoted self-pity and therefore reinforced destructive aggressiveness both against the others and against the self. Renouncement of all ethical, moral or other consideration in dealing with adversaries, pitiless-

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ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.¹⁵ On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

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The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.

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Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.¹⁶

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

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These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

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• 668 to be sure that by means of such a "Politburo" he would be able to dictate the "Party line": "all the chief threads of the movement would have been concentrated in my hands, and I could have been sure that the intended revolution would not stray from the line I had laid down for it."¹⁷

The top revolutionary body was to regard all those below them as expendable in the interest of the revolution, "as revolutionary capital placed at their disposal."¹⁸ This idea of a revolutionary elite leading expendable masses was justified by the Anarchist claim that masses are by themselves unable to achieve radical social changes. The Anarchists believed that only a minority consisting of professional conspirators, wholly dedicated to ruthless terror and destruction, can accomplish social revolution.¹⁹

This "science of revolution" had to be based on a thorough knowledge of a society which had to be infiltrated before it was destroyed.²⁰ *Catechism* had therefore classified all people into definite categories and had prescribed the attitude and the behavior of revolutionists toward each one of them. In the first two groups were the people who had to be immediately assassinated if the revolution were to be successful and counter-revolution prevented. "... their violent and sudden death will put fear into the heart of the government, break its will, and deprive it of its most energetic and intelligent agents."²¹

Next came the "highly placed beasts," that is, wealthy but not dangerous individuals with connections, influence and power; also ambitious careerists and "liberals of varying shades." All these were to be compromised and then blackmailed and compelled to serve the interests of the revolution. Finally came the categories of the intellectual "doctrinaires" who had to be "liquidated" unless won over to the cause of the revolution. "The majority of these will disappear but of the rest we shall make genuine revolutionaries."²² Particular attention was paid [562] to women. Those completely won over to the revolutionary cause were considered "the most precious of our treasures."

Other methods in this "science of revolution" consisted of frightening the enemies, of cowing the neutrals and of terrifying their own followers. To that end assassination of members of

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revolutionary organizations was approved whenever such an act was considered necessary to strike terror into the hearts of the followers or to knit them more closely together.²³ Equally good was considered to be the method of deception, not only of the public, but also of the followers. Moreover, in order to achieve revolution and destroy the existing order, it was considered necessary to increase the existing evils. "The society will use all its resources to increase and intensify the evils and miseries of the people . . ." ²⁴ so that the people would lose patience and be stimulated to a mass rising.

III

The extent to which Nihilist and Anarchist ideas had penetrated into various strata of Russian society by the middle of the second part of the nineteenth century may be indicated by the police records revealed during the many trials of Anarchists and Terrorists. Thus in a trial of a group known as the "Nechaevtsy," out of approximately 150 conspirators, about 30 of them or 20% were classified as nobles, about 50 or 33% of the accused were classified as students and former students. About 20 or 13% were sons of priests and divinity students. About 40 or 26% belonged to the class of bureaucrats and the military. About 15 or 10% belonged to the class of merchants and petty traders. There were five peasants, one artisan and one janitor in the group. There were also about ten women, married and single. The overwhelming majority of the conspirators were between 20 and 26 years of age, the median age being 22.²⁵

As a result of Anarchist propaganda and agitation a number of secret revolutionary groups were organized and became known collectively as *podpolie* (underground).²⁶ One of them was *Zemlya i Volya* (land and freedom), organized in the early seventies. This society split a few years later into two factions, a moderate one, and an openly terroristic group known as the *Narodnaya Volya* (the people's will).²⁷ The *Narodovoltsy* initiated a series of terroristic acts and assassinations of high officials, including a number of attempts on the life of Czar Alexander II.²⁸

The Czarist police fought back with the same weapons. The

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[43] secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

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668 As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.²⁶ Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

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THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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651 BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

565 peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antago-
 746 nism against the priests, especially when hostility against the
 793 priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of
 [795] various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often
 took the form of folk songs:

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hairy ones . . . the beasts:
 These beasts are the priests
 They howl, like wolves. . .

In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
 And ensnare innocent people with their words;
 In the churches they offer glory to God,
 And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;

And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
 In the churches they open their mouths,
 But before the government they keep silent.
 Their hair is long like women's,
 But their brain is a great deal shorter.

They howl like beasts;

They extort from all.
 Wicked hairy priests . . .²

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The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dis-
 senters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the
 seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old
 Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies
 the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The
 teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a
 new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which
 nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal
 terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the
 Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most
 pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church.
 He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute
 that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of
 his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."³

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.⁴ Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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[727] could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its
178 economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of
[566] thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to
which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

565 As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found
621 himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he
651 was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than
before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in
addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover
[672] the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly re-
sponsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they
were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments.
The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and
the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and
more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed
before the "Emancipation Act."

241 At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable
land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of
special importance in his technologically backward and extensive
agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of
his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially
felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught ani-
mals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did
not even possess a wooden plow.

565 But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peas-
668 ants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient
land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance
and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth
century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a poten-
tially very significant force, both politically and economically.
It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political
power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealiza-
tion of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodni-
chestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the
creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophiles,
the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian soci-
ety, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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By the end of that century, a faction of Russian radical intel- 167.
ligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies
and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the
Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party
was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets
and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The
Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of
overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry
to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials,
and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends.
Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of
Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which
specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the re-
volver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public
indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime
whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol
of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the
commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless
and his continued existence represents an affront to the social con-
science, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence
pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.⁷

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolu-
tionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its
own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of
prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it
perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these
consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly
placed officials of the government, including a member of the
Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine gover-
nors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and
fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of
terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and
sailors.⁸

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and
poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between
the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the
upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos,
leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

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668 the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.⁹

[579] As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable

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[727] loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904-1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czarism. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between [468] January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.¹⁰ In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;¹¹ and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high,

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668 The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"¹² In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."¹³

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

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565 *The speeches of the peasants' deputies*
 423 in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants con-
 [646] sidered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and
 that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared
 themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that
 was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.¹⁴

• (68) Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by
 565 systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators
 425 and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a
 627 ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason
 that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree
 was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given
 back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government
 officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their
 hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel
 against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take
 the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot
 the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the
 power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

178 The professional conspirators among the Russian revolution-
 565 ary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their
 revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differ-
 entiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the
 twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the
 Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored
 by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)¹⁵ which
 were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosper-
 ous peasantry and destroying the system of communal land-
 holding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village
 became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the *pomeshchiki* who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called "*novye pomeshchiki*" (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the *pomeshchiki*.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.¹⁹ This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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241 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined
511 to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were
668 ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and
demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them
"land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive
importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in
the civil war.

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ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

178 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century
464 embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built
industries, both those state owned and those owned by the
landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble
entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines
and factories.¹ In such conditions the technical equipment and
the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very
low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological
improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost
low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which
was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start
was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.
[652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologi-
cally and were unable to compete with the European industrial
products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by
434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of
manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power
of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata.
178 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the
458 population made the progress of industrialization in Russia
very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.² At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburg which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the *raznochintsy* who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (*Narodovoltsy*), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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